# MATERNAL INFLUENCE ON ADOLESCENTS' FORMATION OF WORK-FAMILY GENDER IDEOLOGY: VARIATIONS BY GENDER, RACE, AND ETHNICITY

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ABSTRACT

JAMIE MICHELLE LEWIS: Maternal Influence on Adolescents' Formation of Work-Family Gender Ideology: Variations by Gender, Race, and Ethnicity
(Under the direction of Lisa D. Pearce)

This thesis investigates the influence of maternal work-family ideology and employment history on the ideology of their adolescent sons and daughters, as well as differences in the process of intergenerational transfer by gender and race/ethnicity. These questions are addressed using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79) and the Children of the NLSY79. Results indicate that mothers with more egalitarian gender attitudes, especially those who support women's employment, transmit egalitarian work-family ideals to their children. Sons and daughters also develop more egalitarian work-family ideology when their mothers work in more prestigious occupations. Gender and racial differences in the process are found. Sons respond more to their mothers' behavior, whereas girls react more to maternal attitudes. In addition, maternal gender ideology is more influential for White youth than for Hispanic or African American children.

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# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

Gender ideology is important in the lives of youth, influencing their family and professional trajectories throughout their lives. Work-family gender ideology influences many facets of interpersonal relationships—including marital and family relationships (Haynes 2000)—and employment processes (Ridgeway 1997).[1] Gender inequality is in part maintained through nonegalitarian work-family gender attitudes, which deem that women and men have separate and distinct roles within society. Nonegalitarian-minded individuals consider the homemaker role to be proper for women and the good provider role to be appropriate for men (Bernard 1981; Brines 1994; Fraser and Gordon 1994; Riley 2003). The perpetuation of such beliefs helps to maintain discrimination against women, and contributes to the conservation of differential opportunities for women and men in employment, politics, education, and other arenas (Blee and Tickamyer 1995; Eccles 1987; Ridgeway 1997). Breadwinner/housewife work-family gender ideology hampers women's educational and occupational success through their embodiment in structural constraints (Mahaffy and Ward 2002; Nash 1979), as well as through their internalization by individuals (Correll 2001;

[1]In this paper, I use the terms work-family gender attitudes and work-family gender ideology interchangeably to refer to individuals' ideas about which responsibilities and behaviors are appropriate for women and men. This is the same concept that has in the past been referred to as sex/gender role attitudes. I avoid this past terminology due to the recent discussion suggesting that the role approach to gender assumes that gender is static and invariable, and neglects "the difference between the sex of the person playing a role and the gendered nature of the role" (Fox and Murry 2000:1163).

Greene et al. 1999). Given the importance of these attitudes, this paper seeks to further understand from where they come.

Parents' attitudes have been shown to exert a strong influence upon those of their children (Smith 1983; Starrels 1992). Work-family gender attitudes are among those that appear to be transmitted from one generation to the next. In particular, mothers have been shown to have an important role in transferring such beliefs to their offspring (Bohannon and Blanton 1999; Boyd 1989; Cunningham 2001; Ex and Janssens 1998; Lips 1989; Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain 1997; Rollins and White 1982; Schroeder, Blood, and Maluso 1992; Smith and Self 1980). Though maternal employment has often been considered as a factor influencing children's work-family gender attitudes (Ahrens and O'Brien 1996; Booth and Amato 1994; Cunningham 2001; Ex and Janssens 1998; Fan and Marini 2000; Hoffman 1974a, 1974b; Moen et al. 1997; Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983; Willetts-Bloom and Nock 1994; Wright and Young 1998), its relationship with maternal attitudes has not received adequate attention. The current study gives this topic a fresh look, helping to identify the mechanisms involved in the process of intergenerational transmission of work-family ideology, and aiding in untangling the relationship between attitudes and behavior.

This project examines the extent to which youths' work-family gender attitudes are influenced by those of their mothers, as well as by mothers' employment. Past research has focused almost exclusively upon daughters (an exception is Cunningham 2001), ignoring the potential impact of mothers' attitudes and behaviors on sons. Women and men's work-family gender ideologies differ considerably, in that women have made the transformation to more egalitarian attitudes more quickly than men (Ridgeway 1997; Thornton and Young-DeMarco

2001). It is likely that these discrepancies arise in part because mothers influence their sons and daughters in divergent ways. I evaluate whether processes of socialization—a central concept in sociology—operate differently by gender, adding to socialization theory.

A further limitation of research on this subject is that many past studies on the intergenerational transfer of work-family gender attitudes rely on White samples. Consequently, little is known about the transmission of work-family gender ideology among nonwhites. Indeed, these attitudes differ according to racial group membership (Blee and Tickamyer 1995; Bulcroft and Bulcroft 1993; Hill Collins 1987, 1990; King 1988; Ransford and Miller 1983; South 1993). These disparities in attitudes may be partly due to differences in the ways that they are conveyed from one generation to the next. The current project investigates transfer among African Americans and Hispanics as well as Whites, concentrating on emerging differences in the process.

Many past studies concerning the intergenerational transfer of work-family gender attitudes have explored the work-family perspectives of adult children (Bohannon and Blanton 1999; Cunningham 2001; Moen et al. 1997). There has been little consideration of mothers' impact on the work-family gender attitudes of adolescents (an exception is Ex and Janssens 1998). These young men and women will soon embark on their careers and form romantic and/or marital relationships and families. Their ideologies and resulting decisions will decidedly shape each of these institutions—marriage, the family, and the workforce—in the near future (Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001). Specifically, work-family gender attitudes can shape family formation patterns, family goals, and the ways in which the balancing act of work and family is negotiated. This study advances extant research by

focusing on youth who will soon enter into adulthood, thereby providing a window into contemporary and emerging work-family gender ideology and transmission processes.

Past researchers have generally combined work-family attitude measures into a single scale. While this strategy acknowledges correlation among these attitudes, it may result in a failure to uncover differences among measures. Specifically, individuals and groups may express disparate levels of egalitarianism depending upon the specific attitude being assessed, and factors may divergently influence different attitudes. For example, African American men have been found to be more supportive than White men of a breadwinner/housewife division of household labor, but more egalitarian when considering women's workforce participation (Blee and Tickamyer 1995; Hatchett and Quick 1983; Kiecolt and Acock 1988; Wilkie 1993; Wilson et al. 1990). Thus, I consider separately the two primary dimensions of work-family gender ideology: support for women's employment and support for an egalitarian division of household labor.

Measures of maternal employment used to study its influence on offspring's work-family ideology have often been limited to a measure of whether the mother was employed or not at a single point in time (Fan and Marini 2000; Wright and Young 1998). A few social scientists have refined their measures by chronicling employment status at an additional point in time (Moen et al. 1997), recording the number of hours the mother is employed (Cunningham 2001; Ex and Janssens 1998), or considering the amount of prestige attached to the mother's occupation (Ahrens and O'Brien 1996). However, it is likely that all of these dimensions of maternal employment play a role in conveying work-family gender attitudes from mothers to daughters and sons, so that all must be considered to provide a compelling and comprehensive explanation of intergenerational transfer (Willetts-Bloom and Nock

1994). In addition, each distinct dimension of maternal employment may exert a unique effect upon the process of transmission.

Finally, the majority of research on maternal influence measures such factors at only one point in time. Here, I consider whether earlier or later maternal work-family ideology is more material for that of their children, as well as whether children's ideology is more powerfully shaped by maternal career behavior during a child's toddlerhood, early time in school, or early adolescence. In addition, little research on the topics of work-family ideology or intergenerational transfer has been done lately. By revisiting and further developing these areas, I can evaluate whether our knowledge is accurate for the current generation of youth.

This study addresses two research questions: 1) How do maternal attitudes about work and family and mothers' career behavior influence their children's work-family gender ideology?; and 2) Does the relationship between mothers' and children's attitudes, or between mothers' behavior and offspring's ideology, vary by gender or race/ethnicity? In the sections that follow, I review theories and develop hypotheses concerning the intergenerational transfer of work-family gender attitudes and the role of maternal employment in this process, indicating the degree to which past research provides support for these theories. I then theorize how this process may differ for daughters and sons, as well as between African Americans, Whites, and Hispanics. A description and justification of the data—which are derived from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79) and the Children of the NLSY79—and analytic techniques used are then provided. Finally, I describe the results and discuss their implications.

# CHAPTER 2

# INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF WORK-FAMILY GENDER ATTITUDES

Socialization theory provides a framework for understanding how mothers' attitudes impact those of their children. Social education and childhood experiences are essential to the transfer of perspectives, attitudes, and behavior from parents to offspring (Bandura 1982). Socialization is the process though which new generations learn the ways of society—including gender—in order to be able to function within it (Elkin and Handel 1984). Primary socializing agents promote this process through their interactions with children (Mead and Morris 1934). Parents, as a result of their early and strong emotional attachment to their children, and their children to them, are particularly influential socializing agents (Raffaelli and Ontai 2004; Turner 1962; Bandura 1982; Huston and Carpenter 1985). Indeed, mothers are especially important agents of socialization (Arditti, Godwin, and Scanzoni 1991; Starrels 1992). Parental ideologies, behaviors, and other attributes each contribute to gender socialization by serving as guidelines for children informing them when and how to "do" gender (West and Zimmerman 1987). Through observing interactions among family members, children learn that particular behaviors can be enacted as symbolic markers of gender, as well as the meanings about gender that these actions convey (Goffman 1977).

Parental socialization of children is conducted in part through reinforcement (Bandura 1982). Through this mechanism, mother's attitudes directly shape those of their offspring. As part of reinforcement, 'proper' gender behaviors, attitudes, and characteristics in children are

rewarded, while inappropriate actions and perspectives are punished. These rewards and penalties may be verbal or nonverbal in nature. Children modify their behavior in order to maximize rewards and minimize sanctions.

Also informative for a theory on intergenerational transmission of work-family gender attitudes are status attainment theories. According to the status attainment model, the occupational, economic, and educational attainment of offspring is largely determined by class background and parental encouragement for accomplishment (Featherman and Hauser 1978; Sewell and Hauser 1975). Through their parents, individuals inherit their social position, as well as connectedness to human, social, and financial capital. Moen et al. (1995) suggest that parents and offspring achieve similar levels of education as a result of their common race/ethnicity, religious background, and socioeconomic status. In consequence, parents and children develop comparable perspectives. Indeed, parents and offspring who hold similar social statuses and roles demonstrate greater congruence in attitudes and beliefs than those in more disparate social positions (Fischer 1986; Glass, Bengtson, and Dunham 1986; Smith and Self 1980). In addition, parents and offspring with similar social locations are more affectively attached, easing the process of attitude transfer. Together, socialization and status attainment theories suggest that:

*Hypothesis 1*: Children possess work-family gender attitudes similar to those of their mothers.

Gender socialization may not proceed in a strictly unidirectional way. As Cunningham (2001) observes, the assumption that there is an authoritative, immutable

socializing agent and a unique, influenceable socializee is incorrect. In particular, Bohannon and Blanton (1999) note the potentiality that daughters' work-family gender attitudes impact those of their mothers. However, they indicate that this becomes a concern when studying young adult daughters. As young adults, offspring attain greater work experience, generally move away from home for the first time, and often cohabit and/or marry. In consequence, these individuals become increasingly exposed to influences other than their parents, making the possibility of attitudinal feedback more likely. The current study is concerned with adolescent children, aged 15 or 16, who are generally closer to and more amenable to the socialization messages of their mothers than are young adults. While attitudinal feedback may still occur, it likely is less problematic for this age group than for older children.

Fathers' attitudes likely also play an important role in the shaping of daughters' and sons' work-family gender ideology. However, the data used in analysis for this paper do not contain self-reported work-family gender attitudes of fathers, so fathers are not the focus of this study. The findings regarding maternal attitudes may suggest how fathers' attitudes also operate, because women most often partner with men holding similar attitudes and values (Luo and Klohnen 2005). The exploration of the paternal role in work-family gender ideology socialization should be a goal of future studies.

# CHAPTER 3

# THE ROLE OF MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT

In addition to incorporating parents' verbal messages concerning ideology, socialization theory asserts that children develop their work-family gender attitudes partly by accepting ideas corresponding to the behavior their parents model (Blair 1992; White and Brinkerhoff 1981). The modeling mechanism entails the conscious imitation of the mannerisms and actions of socializing agents, including parents. At an early age, children learn to differentiate between males and females, and that distinct behaviors are associated with each group (Bem 1993; Fagot and Leinbach 1993). Thus, mothers' behavior, in addition to their attitudes, shapes the work-family gender attitudes of their children (Cunningham 2001; Bandura 1982).

Maternal participation in paid employment is a key modeled behavior relating to the gendered socialization of youth (Moen et al. 1997). Past studies have demonstrated the association of maternal employment with more egalitarian attitudes of daughters (Hoffman 1989; Huston 1983; Starrels 1992), and others indicate that this effect operates for children of both sexes (Hoffman 1974b; Thornton et al. 1983). Children of employed mothers observe a female model acting in a way accordant with more egalitarian work-family gender ideology (Fan and Marini 2000; Kiecolt and Acock 1988).

Intensity of maternal employment is another factor requiring inspection. Employed mothers may work part-time, full-time, or overtime. In addition to each of these categories

differing from mothers who are not employed, it is likely that various levels of employment divergently impact the work-family gender attitudes of offspring. Women who work part-time may be less committed to work than those who are employed full-time (Hakim 1992; Marks and Houston 2002). Instead, they may choose to limit their work hours in order to devote more time to their family responsibilities (Walsh 1999). By doing this, these women model a partial commitment to the notion that women should not work. Also, most women who work part-time are secondary income earners (Walsh 1999), and their motivation for such labor participation is more apt to be framed in terms of economic need rather than an expression of egalitarian attitudes.[2] In contrast, full-time maternal employment is more likely to be perceived as a display of egalitarian work-family gender ideology. Thus, greater intensity of maternal employment may communicate a clearer message of gender egalitarianism to daughters and sons. However, Cunningham (2001) found that mother's work hours do not influence children's gender attitudes. Finally, the pursuit of full-time work and the career track requires greater investment of time, educational preparation, and other resources. Mothers who seek full employment communicate to their offspring that such investment on the part of women, especially mothers, and the resulting rewards are worthwhile.

Also important is the status associated with a mother's occupation. Mothers working in professional positions may have a different influence on children than mothers working in lower-prestige positions (Hoffman 1974a). Keith (1988) determined that while children of working mothers intended to rear their children in a dual-career home, sons of mothers in

[2]I suggest this is a trend, but it is not always the case that women who work part-time possess nonegalitarian views or do not value work. Rather, there is some heterogeneity in part-time women's attitudes and orientations (Crompton and Harris 1998). Also important, a sizeable minority of part-time women remain in their positions because they are unable to find adequate full-time work (Walsh 1999).

high-prestige occupations expected that their wives would stay at home once children were born. However, other research suggests that daughters whose mothers are involved in high-status and high-paying occupations are more likely to plan to work than daughters of mothers employed in low-prestige, low-wage jobs (Altman and Grossman 1977; Parsons, Frieze, and Ruble 1978; Ridgeway 1978). Also, Moen and Smith (1986) found that women with greater occupational status express higher work commitment. Children of mothers in prestigious positions observe this commitment, and may consequently consider work to be an important part of women's identities. In addition, high-status vocations are associated with greater rewards—including higher pay, greater respect, more benefits, and additional flexibility—than are low-prestige occupations. As a result, those with mothers in high-status positions may view women's employment as a worthwhile activity that yields great rewards, whereas children of mothers in less prestigious vocations may perceive such employment as offering few incentives.

An additional aspect of maternal career behavior is enrollment in school. Increasing educational credentials is a crucial step in establishing a more promising career (Hostetler, Sweet, and Moen 2007). Similar to employed mothers, those who pursue more education model commitment to work for their offspring. Children whose mothers return to college are more disposed to view their mother's identity as more than that of a homemaker (Kelly 1982). Moen et al. (1997) discerned that having a mother who returned to school positively impacted daughters' paid worker identity. However, this association was marginally significant. Based on this review of maternal employment factors, I propose that:

*Hypothesis 2*: Maternal career behavior is positively related to youth's work-family attitudes. That is, being employed, greater work intensity, higher occupational prestige, and school enrollment are associated with more egalitarian gender attitudes in children.

When considering the influence of maternal career behavior on children's work-family gender attitudes, it is important to think about the timing of these behaviors (Cunningham 2001; Moen et al. 1997). Previous research provides evidence that children are most impressionable in their early years, so that maternal employment behavior while children are young may have the greatest impact on work-family gender ideology (Baydar and Brooksgunn 1991; Parcel and Menaghan 1994; Weinraub et al. 1984). Children whose mothers were employed when they were very young supported maternal employment, whereas those whose mothers became involved in paid labor once the children were older expressed disapproval (Keith 1988; Willetts-Bloom and Nock 1994). Adolescence is another period during which offspring attitudes are especially vulnerable to change (Cunningham 2001). During this time, youth begin to enact their work-family gender attitudes in romantic relationships and paid work, but remain under the care and influence of their parents. Kiecolt and Acock (1988) found that maternal employment had a more liberalizing effect on daughters' attitudes when the daughter observed her mother's labor force participation at age sixteen than at age six.

It is important to note that a mother's work experience during a period may impact her work-family gender ideology at a later point in time (Cunningham 2001). In truth, it is not possible to fully differentiate the effects of maternal attitudes and behavior, or to

decidedly determine the temporal precedence of one or the other. Likely, there is a feedback mechanism between attitudes and behavior that persists across the life course. For this reason, my theoretical model, as shown in Figure 1, does not assume that maternal attitudes and employment operate independently of one another; nor does it presume that the influence of one precedes the other.

As women and men's work and family lives are conditioned by historical context (Hook 2006; Rindfuss, Swicegood, and Rosenfeld 1987), it is important to consider the context of women's employment at the time that the adolescents studied here were growing up. While women in the NLSY79 (who were born in the latter part of the baby boom) were young, it was uncommon for mothers to be employed. However, as adults, these women markedly increased their involvement in paid labor. Between 1970 and 2001, the proportion of married couples that were dual providers increased from 41% to 71%. By 2001, women and men contributed about an equal share of income in 24% of couples, up from 9% in 1970 (Raley, Mattingly, and Bianchi 2006). It follows that the adolescents studied here (who were born between the late 1970s and mid 1990s) came to age during a period when women's employment became more normative. Children who were raised by or alternatively know working mothers constitute a less select group than in the past (Brewster and Padavic 2000). Because of this greater normativity, I expect the impact of employment status on children's work-family gender attitudes to be relatively weak. However, it is still common for women to work fewer hours than men (Raley et al. 2006), and women tend to work in less prestigious occupations. Consequently, I expect maternal employment intensity and occupational prestige to be more influential for youth's gender ideology than maternal employment status.

# CHAPTER 4

# OTHER FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROCESS OF TRANSMISSION

## *Gender*

Socialization theory also delineates how the process of intergenerational transmission of work-family gender attitudes may differ for sons and daughters. This occurs because the socialization operations of reinforcement and especially modeling proceed divergently according to whether a mother is interacting with a same-sex or opposite-sex child. Mothers engage in reinforcement interactions with both sons and daughters. Through modeling, however, children are encouraged to adopt the conduct corresponding to their sex by affecting the behavior of their same-sex parent (Raley and Bianchi 2006), so that the attributes of the same-sex parent more directly impact a child's comprehension of gender (Bandura 1969; Lynn 1969). Further, mothers spend more time with daughters than with sons (Tucker, McHale, and Crouter 2003), prolonging girls' exposure to maternal socialization. As a result, socialization via modeling more often takes place between mother and daughter than between mother and son. Indeed, maternal employment has been shown to have a more consistent impact on daughters' work-family gender attitudes than on those of sons (Bielby and Bielby 1984; Helms-Erikson et al. 2000; Hoffman 1974a; Ransford and Miller 1983). Thus, daughters incorporate their mothers' attitudes through both modeling and reinforcement, whereas sons are likely to learn about their mothers' attitudes through reinforcement only. This suggests that the transmission of work-family gender ideology from

mothers to offspring proceeds in a stronger fashion for daughters than for sons. Chodorow (1989) suggests that child gender may impact the socialization process in other ways. She asserts that feminine and masculine personalities, as well as work-family gender attitudes, result from women's mothering and the unconscious psychological processes that occur early in a child's development between the child and her/his mother. Girls are hypothesized to form continually close relationships with their mothers, and are thus in a position to learn how to be feminine and nurturing like their mothers. In contrast, mothers develop more distant relationships with sons, and instead encourage boys to differentiate themselves and adopt a male role. Because fathers are predominantly more aloof and uninvolved in childcare, boys are unable to appropriate masculinity through close associations with their fathers. Instead, male children often create firm boundaries around their gender identities, and define masculinity in largely negative terms, identifying it as "that which is not feminine or involved with women" (Chodorow 1989:51). These effects are reinforced by the structure found in the larger society. Teaching, day care provision, and other "mothering" roles are most often filled by women. Men rarely are in occupations that provide contact with young children.

As a result of their close relationships with and strong attachments to their mothers formed early in life, daughters internalize much of their mothers' ideas concerning gender. In addition, daughters maintain their attachment to their mothers (Calloni and Handal 1992), which suggests that mothers' work-family gender attitudes continue to influence their daughters as they grow older. Mothers more easily develop similar interests with their daughters (Lundberg 2005; Raley and Bianchi 2006), encouraging closeness. Sons, however, develop a masculine identity and work-family gender ideology by distancing themselves

from femininity. Because boys are often less attached to their mothers and establish strong boundaries around their gender identities, the mechanism through which mothers' attitudes shapes those of their children is weakened for sons. This likely results in less congruence in attitudes between mothers and sons than is found between mothers and daughters. Another possibility is that because boys develop their ideas concerning gender in a negative fashion, by distancing themselves from that which is associated with women, sons cultivate attitudes opposite those of their mothers. This would produce a negative relationship between mothers' and sons' attitudes. Thus, socialization theory and Chodorow's developmental theory suggest two additional hypotheses:

*Hypothesis 3*: The relationship between the work-family gender attitudes of mothers and daughters is stronger and more positive than that between mothers and sons.

*Hypothesis 4*: Maternal employment has a greater influence on female than on male offspring.

### *Race/Ethnicity*

Socialization processes, as well as the messages conveyed therein, may fluctuate for different racial/ethnic groups (Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). Findings that Hispanics have more nonegalitarian attitudes than Whites and/or African Americans (Franco, Sabattini, and Crosby 2004; Harris and Firestone 1998; Wilkie 1993) suggest that messages about gender transferred within the family vary by race or ethnicity. Additional support for this suggestion is provided by research indicating that African American attitudes differ from those of Whites. Some studies indicate greater egalitarianism among African Americans (Fulenwider

1980; Harris and Firestone 1998), while others specify lower egalitarianism (Kane 1992; Ransford and Miller 1983). It is possible that these differences in ideology arise because the influence of maternal gender attitudes varies across these groups. However, past literature does not reveal a consistent pattern between racial/ethnic groups. For this reason, I test a non-directional hypothesis:

*Hypothesis 5*: The influence of mother's attitudes differs across racial/ethnic groups.

Historically, the roles of women and men have differed according to race. In particular, greater proportions of Black women than White women have been involved in the labor force (Haynes 2000; Raley et al. 2006). Subsequently, children in African American families may view women's employment as a common occurrence devoid of meaning, rather than a challenge to the gendered status quo. In addition, discrimination in the occupations available to African Americans and Hispanics, as well as in wages paid, has made it more necessary for both women and men in African American and Hispanic families to work. Members of both minority groups also experience higher rates of unemployment and poverty (Kane 2000). Thus, minority women's employment may more often occur due to economic reasons (Gackenbach 1978; Gump 1975; Herring and Wilson-Sadberry 1993; Rosen 1978) than as a result of egalitarian ideology. Though many White women also work due to financial need, the greater discrimination and poverty experienced by minority women augments their material need to work. For Black women, economic stress is exacerbated by the high unemployment and incarceration rates of Black men. These circumstances decrease the likelihood that African American women will marry providers, and necessitate that they

be financially independent (Lichter et al. 1992). Not only may minority women's motivation to work reflect a financial rather than ideological drive, but also the children of employed Hispanic and African American women may interpret their mothers' behavior in a similar way. Accordingly, maternal employment may play a different role in the transmission of work-family gender attitudes for African Americans and Hispanics as compared to Whites.

There is substantial documentation indicating that minority women's labor force participation actually results in less egalitarian work-family gender attitudes, especially among men. Black men often perceive their female counterparts to have unfair or unmerited advantages in employment and education, and this perception is aggravated by high rates of unemployment among African American men (Cazenave 1983; Cazenave and Smith 1990). This sensibility develops at a young age and, coupled with a sense that their proper role as breadwinner and provider is being denied them, may cause Black men to reassert dominance and reestablish a strict gendered division of labor within the home (Hunter and Davis 1992). In a similar fashion, Hispanic men reaffirm machismo as a way of retaining their higher status relative to Hispanic women (Strong, McQuillen, and Hughey 1993). In their study of work-family gender attitudes of White and African American men, Blee and Tickamyer (1995) found that maternal employment had an unprogressive effect on the attitudes of Black sons. As these young men grow older and form their own families, they react in a way discordant with their childhood experiences with a working mother. This response to African American women's labor force participation once more may be due to the fact that, historically, African American women have worked more out of economic necessity resulting from occupational and wage discrimination against Blacks, and have had less of a choice between housework and labor force participation. If these young men grew up with

working mothers who would have preferred to be homemakers, then they may seek to successfully fulfill the provider role and enable their wives to remain at home. Also, the desire for their wives to have more time for childcare may be augmented by these men's aspirations toward a middle-class lifestyle. Likely, this process operates similarly within Hispanic families. Therefore, I propose that:

*Hypothesis 6*: Maternal career behavior has a more liberalizing impact on the attitudes of White children than for Black or Hispanic daughters or sons.

### *Family Structure*

Compared to children who live in a two-parent family, those who reside with single mothers experience divergent gender socialization. This occurs because youth in the latter family type are socialized by their mothers, but not by their fathers. Fathers encourage higher compliance with breadwinner/homemaker gender ideology than do mothers (Biller 1981). Because children raised in single-mother households receive less pressure to conform to breadwinner/housewife norms regarding gender, they hold more egalitarian work-family attitudes (Demo and Acock 1988). Further, since mothers are the sole source of parental socialization in single-mother families, maternal gender ideology may exert a greater impact on the ideology of youth residing in single-mother families than for those in two-parent families.

In addition, maternal employment may mean something different in the context of single-mother families than it does for members of two-parent families (Barber and Eccles 1992). Single parents' familial roles differ from those in two-parent families, such that single

parents may execute tasks that they would not perform were a spouse present (Wright and Young 1998). Barber and Eccles (1992) suggest that an important difference between single-mother and two-parent families is the requirement that single mothers provide for both their families' domestic and financial needs. While many married mothers also engage in both realms, only rarely are they solely responsible for economic provision. Since single-mothers are generally sole providers, and married mothers tend to be secondary providers or coproviders, maternal employment may be more liberalizing for children's work-family gender ideology in single-mother families than in two-parent families. Indeed, Wright and Young (1998) determined that the egalitarian effect of maternal employment status on children's gender attitudes is greater for those in single-mother families than for those who have both a mother and father at home.

# CHAPTER 5

# METHODOLOGY

## *Data*

Analyses are conducted using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79) and from the Children of the NLSY79. These latter data result from a survey of the biological children of the women in the NLSY79. Both the NLSY79 and the Children of the NLSY79 in-person survey interviews are administered through the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. The sample for the NLSY79 was attained through the use of multi-stage stratified probability sampling. The original NLSY79 sample, which contains 6,283 women and 6,403 men, is—once weighted—representative of American women and men born between January 1, 1957 and December 31, 1964 and residing in the U.S. in 1978. However, the subsample used here is not nationally representative. As I describe in more detail below, the subsample ovverrepresents younger, less educated mothers. In the original NLSY79 sample, African Americans and Hispanics were oversampled, so that the 1979 sample consists of 3,174 (25.0%) Blacks, 2,002 (15.8%) Hispanics, and 7,510 (59.2%) Whites. Respondents, who were 14 to 22 years old at the initial stage of data collection, were interviewed on an annual basis through 1994, and since 1996 have been interviewed biennially. During the 2002 wave of data collection, 3,955 women completed the questionnaire. Thus, approximately 37.1% of female NLSY79 respondents were lost from the sample between 1979 and 2002.

The original Children of the NLSY79 sample, when weighted, is representative of the offspring of women who were born during the years 1957 to 1964 and lived in America in 1978. Again, the analytic sample used here contains children disproportionately born to younger, less educated mothers. Interviews with children were initiated in 1986 to supplement the information on child development attained through surveys of their mothers. Biennially since 1994, children age 15 and older have responded to a questionnaire similar to that administered to their mothers. Between 1986 and 2002, the number of children of interviewed mothers increased from 5,255 to 8,323. Completed interviews were attained from 7,467 children—89.7% of the total—in 2002. Of those interviewed in 2002, 2,412 (32.3%) were Black, 1,625 (21.8%) were Hispanic, and 3,430 (45.9%) were White.

In order to describe the work-family gender attitudes of adolescents, the analytic sample contains those children who were age 15 or 16 in 1994, 1996, or 1998. Children who were 15 or 16 in 2000 or 2004 are excluded, because the work-family gender attitude questions were not administered in these years. In 2002, the ideology questions were not given to 15 and 16-year-olds, but were asked of those who were age 17 or 18. These 17 and 18-year-olds are included in the sample, and their 2002 responses to the dependent variables considered as proxies for their attitudes as 15 and 16-year-olds in 2000.[3] Because there are too few adolescents of a race/ethnicity other than Black, White, or Hispanic to allow for reliable comparisons, these individuals are excluded from statistical examinations. These decisions result in an analytic sample of 2,224 adolescents—492 (22.1%) Hispanics, 866

[3]Though it is possible that some change in the gender attitudes of these individuals took place between 2000 (when they were 15 or 16) and 2002 (when they were 17 or 18), it is more likely that their work-family ideology remained consistent throughout the period. Despite this possible flaw, the inclusion of these respondents in the sample both allows the use of more recent data and increases the statistical power of the sample.

(38.9%) African Americans, and 866 (38.9%) Whites.[4] Information from the mothers of these children is also used.

A comparison, across samples, of maternal education and age of mother at child's birth is contained in Table 1. The values for the analytic sample (or NLSY subsample) are balanced against those for the full NLSY sample, as well as the U.S. Census or National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS). Compared to the Census statistics, my subsample is more likely to have only a high school education and less likely to have either attended some college or to have a BA or more, though the difference for some college is small. Mothers in the subsample tend to be younger, compared to the NCHS statistic. However, the values for the full NLSY sample match more closely to those for the Census and NCHS. This suggests that the analytic sample contains younger mothers and fewer college educated mothers not because of some shortcoming of the NLSY sampling methodology, but as a result of the decision to restrict the analytic sample to 15- and 16-year-old children. Unfortunately, this decision is necessary, since children who had not reached adolescence did not receive work-family gender attitude questions.

Thus, the analytic sample used here overrepresents younger, less educated mothers. Though this lack of representativeness is a shortcoming of the sample, there are other strengths of these data that render them most suitable for the research question at hand. First, the data contain rich intergenerational information, and information on work-family ideology is available for both sons and daughters. Second, there is a great amount of information on maternal work history throughout the respondents' childhoods. Finally, the oversampling of

[4]Missing data are handled in a way that allows the use of the most complete information available for each measure. Casewise deletion is avoided. Rather, data are marked as missing on a variable by variable basis. As a result, sample size varies somewhat across variables, and tables and models have a different sample size depending on which variables are included.

racial minorities makes possible the comparison of work-family attitudes and transmission processes across racial groups. Thus, while findings may not be generalizable to families in which mothers delayed childbearing, these data provide a more complete understanding of the causal mechanisms responsible for the intergenerational transfer of gender ideology.

Finally, the potential implication of the sample composition on the results must be considered. The sample contains few older or highly educated mothers. These missing women likely possess a more egalitarian work-family ideology and a more extensive work history, compared to those in the analytic sample. More importantly, such women generally have greater resources, including education, job opportunities, and income. Because individuals with superior resources face fewer constraints and are better able to closely coordinate their attitudes and behaviors than those who are less privileged (Franco et al. 2004), I expect that attitudes and behavior would align more for older, highly educated mothers. By excluding these mothers, this study is a conservative test of both the level of egalitarian ideology and the connection between gender attitudes and maternal employment. Because the exclusion of older and more educated mothers likely provides a conservative test, this data limitation makes it more difficult, not easier, to find support for my hypotheses.

### *Measurement of Variables*

*Dependent variables.* Two measures of youth's work-family gender ideology are analyzed: 1) child's support for women's employment and 2) child's support for an egalitarian division of household labor. The first is measured using the response to the statement: A woman's place is in the home, not in the office or shop. Support for an egalitarian division of labor is operationalized as the reply to the statement: It is much better

for everyone concerned if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family. For each statement, the available responses are: strongly agree (1), agree (2), disagree (3), and strongly disagree (4). For both measures, low scores (1 and 2) indicate a less egalitarian gender perspective, and high scores (3 and 4) correspond to a more egalitarian worldview.

*Independent variables.* Maternal attitude variables used include mother's support for women's employment and for an egalitarian division of labor. These are measured utilizing mothers' responses to the same statements used for the dependent variables. For each, mothers' responses in 1979, 1982, and 1987 are employed.[5]

Maternal career orientation, which includes both maternal employment and enrollment, is operationalized through the use of multiple variables. Maternal employment status is measured using a categorical variable, with not employed as the reference category. Hourly intensity of employment is operationalized in terms of average intensity in weeks worked. This measure is attained by dividing the total number of hours worked in the survey year by the number of weeks worked that year. In such a way, seasonal changes in employment intensity have less of an impact on the measure than if employment hours were averaged over the entire year. Occupational prestige scores are created using the Nam-Powers SES Scores (Stafford and Fossett 1991). The appropriate prestige score is attached to the mother's primary occupation, which is identified according to the 1970/1980 Census occupational codes. Mothers who are not employed are assigned the score associated with homemakers. Finally, a dummy variable for maternal enrollment in school is used, with not

[5]Initially, confirmatory factor analysis was employed and scale variables were created combining 1) 1979, 1982, and 1987 maternal support for women's employment, and 2) 1979, 1982, and 1987 maternal support for an egalitarian division of labor. For both scales, Chronbach's alpha was somewhat low ($\alpha$=0.63 for women's employment; $\alpha$=0.57 for division of labor). For this reason, the yearly measures are used in analysis.

enrolled designated as the reference category. Each of the four maternal employment/enrollment variables are measured at three points in time: when the child was 2, 7, and 13 or 14. These multiple measures portray maternal career behavior when the child was a toddler, soon after entering school, and in adolescence.

*Control variables.* The adolescent's race/ethnicity is operationalized utilizing a set of categorical variables. The effects of the variables Non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic are measured relative to the reference category, Non-Hispanic White. Because adolescents' race/ethnicity was measured with less precision than was that of their mothers, mothers' race/ethnicity is used to construct the child race/ethnicity dummy variables. Again, respondents identifying with another minority race or ethnicity, due to their small number, are not considered in analyses. The variable gender indicates whether the respondent is male or female, with male as the reference category. Gender was recorded by the interviewer, and clarified when necessary.

Other controls used in analyses include mother's educational attainment, family structure, and maternal religious affiliation. Mother's education, measured when the child was age 2, indicates years of schooling completed. Household roster information from the children's interviews at age 2 is used to construct a set of dummy variables measuring household structure.[6] Adolescents are coded as living in one of the following arrangements: two-parent married household, two-parent cohabiting household, single-mother household, and other household. These categories are constructed using information indicating whether the child resided with her/his mother, and whether a spouse or partner of the mother was

[6]Variables for household structure and maternal education when the child was age 7 and 13/14 were also created. However, preliminary regression revealed that only household structure at age 2 demonstrated effects. To make models more parsimonious, household structure at age 2 is used. For consistency as well as parsimony, maternal education at age 2 is used in further modeling.

present in the household. Respondents are marked as living in some other household if they did not reside with their mother. Finally, mother's religious affiliation is operationalized as the mother's affiliation in 1979. Affiliation is classified as one of the following: no affiliation, conservative Protestant, mainline Protestant, Black Protestant, other Protestant, Catholic, and other religion. Conservative Protestant is designated as the reference group.

Correlations between the independent variables are displayed in Table 2. Though there is evidence of correlation among these measures, the values of the correlation coefficients never exceed 0.69. Furthermore, when inspecting variables measured at more than one point in time, correlations between these multiple points in time do not exceed 0.49. This suggests that though the multiple measures of a given independent variable are correlated, they are not correlated to the degree that collinearity poses much of a concern for modeling. Also, it suggests that each pinpoint measure of an independent variable may demonstrate an independent effect on children's gender ideology.

### *Analytic Strategy*

Models are analyzed using ordered logistic regression, since both dependent variables consist of a set of ordered categories ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Resulting coefficients indicate the effect on the odds. Effects on the odds less than one designate that a one unit increase in an independent variable decreases the likelihood of an adolescent possessing more egalitarian work-family gender attitudes rather than an ideology more in tune with the breadwinner/housewife model. Accordingly, effects on the odds greater than one denote that a one unit increase in an independent variable increases the likelihood that a youth maintains a more egalitarian perspective as opposed to less egalitarian attitudes.

Thus, the coefficients indicate the factor by which a change in an independent variable changes the odds of an adolescent disagreeing with expressions of nonegalitarian work-family gender attitudes, as compared to agreeing with these statements.

Descriptive statistics are weighted using a customized weight provided by the NLSY. This weight accounts for the cohort being analyzed as well as the survey years used. In addition, for descriptive statistics, mother's ID is assigned as a primary sampling unit in order to correct for correlation between siblings. Regression statistics are calculated without the use of weights.[7]

For both dependent variables, model progression proceeds as follows: Model 1 inspects the impact of mother's support for women's employment, and Model 2 delineates the effect of mother's support for an egalitarian division of labor. The influence of both maternal attitudes is evaluated in Model 3. Model 4 looks at the impact of having an employed mother, and the influence of mother's hours of employment is inspected in Model 5. Model 6 examines the effect of mother's occupational prestige, while Model 7 investigates the influence of maternal enrollment in school. The impact of all aspects of maternal employment is explored in Model 8. Finally, Model 9 evaluates the joint influence of maternal attitudes and employment/ enrollment on children's attitudes.

When a given independent variable is included in a model, each of the three pinpoint measures for that variable is included. Thus, when evaluating the effect of a maternal

[7]Regression was also conducted using weights and correcting for correlation between siblings. The results for child's support for an egalitarian division of labor are very similar. For child's support for women's employment, some differences arise. In models 1, 2, and 3, only the most recent attitude measures retain significance. Hours of employment when the child was age 2 demonstrates a significant, though small, positive effect in model 5. In model 8, none of the maternal career behavior measures reach significance. Finally, occupational prestige when the child was 13-14 does not reach significance in model 9. In the weighted regressions, the standard errors associated with the coefficients are larger. It is likely that fewer measures attain significance in the weighted models due to the larger standard errors. The unweighted results are presented here because the primary purpose of this paper is inference rather than generalizability.

attitude, measures for the attitude in 1979, 1982, and 1987 are entered in the model. For a career behavior variable, measures for the behavior when the child was age 2, 7, and 13/14 are included. In this way, I assess whether earlier or later maternal attitudes are more important for children's attitudes, as well as whether maternal career behavior during a child's toddlerhood, early years in school, or adolescence is more influential for children's work-family gender ideology.

All controls are included in each of the nine models. To allow investigation of how mother's attitudes and career behavior operate differently according to gender and race, the models are run separately for females and males and separately for Whites, African Americans, and Hispanics. Following model formation, Chow tests are performed to determine whether the use of these sex-separate and race-separate models is appropriate. In cases where the full model differs by race or sex, only this full model is discussed. When the full model does not differ across groups, smaller models for which sex-separate or race-separate analysis is appropriate are presented.

### *Independent Variable Descriptive Statistics*

Weighted means and standard deviations for independent and control variables are presented in Table 3. Mothers tend to support both women's employment and an egalitarian division of labor, though they express greater approval of employment. For both attitudes, mothers become more egalitarian over time. When children were age 2, about 60% had employed mothers, mothers worked nearly 22 hours per week and had an occupational prestige score near 26, and about 5% of mothers were enrolled in school. For each of these career behavior measures, mothers score higher as their children grow older.

The weighted sample is about 49% female, 61% White, 28% Black, and 11% Hispanic. On average, mothers have completed about 12 years of schooling, or the equivalent of a high school degree. Children most commonly resided in a two-parent married household (63%) or a single-mother household (29%). Nearly 28% of mothers were Catholic, about 60% were affiliated with some Protestant denomination, about 9% claimed no affiliation, and approximately 3% were a member of some other religion. Among Protestants, Black Protestants and conservative Protestants were the largest groups.

# CHAPTER 6

# RESULTS

## *Dependent Variable Descriptive Statistics*

Weighted descriptive statistics for the dependent variables are shown in Table 4. Means and standard deviations for the overall sample, as well as for each gender and racial group, are provided. In addition, results from adjusted Wald tests, which test for difference between gender and racial groups, are given. Adolescents overall are more supportive of women's employment than of an egalitarian division of labor. Indeed, the pattern of greater endorsement of female labor force participation is demonstrated by each subgroup analyzed.

When comparing the responses of girls and boys, females are found to evince greater egalitarianism than their male counterparts, confirming the findings of prior work (Franco et al. 2004; Helms-Erikson et al. 2000; Steil 2000). Relative to boys, female youth are more supportive of both women's employment and an egalitarian division of labor. Girls may be more egalitarian in their views because they desire a variety of life opportunities, and feel that adherence to the breadwinner/housewife ideal limit those opportunities. Boys' expression of less egalitarian ideology may serve as a way of preserving their higher status relative to girls.

African American, Hispanic, and White adolescents hold similar attitudes regarding women's employment. Furthermore, Hispanics and Blacks are equally supportive of an egalitarian division of labor. However, White youth are more supportive of an egalitarian

division of labor than are African Americans or Hispanics. That adolescents endorse women's employment more than an egalitarian division of labor suggests that there are differences between these two dimensions of work-family gender ideology, as does the finding that support for an egalitarian division of labor but not of women's employment differs across racial groups. Specifically, the distributions of these two attitudes are distinct in some ways. Thus, while the use of a gender ideology scale is appropriate given the correlation between individual measures, it would obscure interesting details. By analyzing attitudinal dimensions separately, we can learn something about the intricacies of gender ideology.

### *Pooled Analyses*

*Child's support for women's employment.* Results for models of the impact of maternal attitudes and career behavior on child's support for women's employment are shown in Table 5. In Model 1, maternal support for women's employment in both 1979 and 1987 is positively related to child's support for women's employment. A one-unit increase in mother's 1979 support is related to a 14% increase in the likelihood that a youth is more supportive of women's employment. The relationship between the 1987 measure of mother's support for women's employment and child's support is more than double that of the 1979 measure, such that the likelihood that a child possesses a more egalitarian view of women's employment increases by 30% when mother's 1987 support for women's employment rises by one unit.

The influence of maternal support for an egalitarian division of labor is shown in Model 2. Both the 1982 and 1987 measures are positively related to child's support for

women's employment. As with mother's attitudes towards women's employment, the 1987 measure is more influential. A one-unit increase in mother's 1982 support for an egalitarian division of labor increases the likelihood that an adolescent is more supportive of women's employment by about 16%, while a one-unit increase in mother's 1987 support augments this likelihood by approximately 27%.

The impact of both maternal attitudes is evaluated in Model 3. Here, mother's 1979 support for women's employment is no longer significant. In addition, the magnitudes of the coefficients of both 1987 maternal attitudes decline, and both variables are now significant at the .05 level rather than the .001 level. This suggests that attitudes at one point in time work through attitudes at a later point in time, and that while maternal support for women's employment and for an egalitarian division of labor independently influence child's views towards employed women, there is also a degree of overlap in the impact of the two maternal attitudes.

Model 4, which tests the influence of maternal employment status, reveals that youth with mothers who were employed when they were age 7 are about 23% more likely to have a more favorable view of women's employment, compared to those whose mothers were not employed at that time. However, this relationship is only weakly significant. Maternal work intensity at any age is shown to have no relationship with child's support for women's employment in Model 5.

In Model 6, the association between mother's occupational prestige and child's support for women's employment is evaluated. Occupational prestige at both age 7 and 13/14 are positively related to child's support, and their coefficients are similar in magnitude. The likelihood of an adolescent being more supportive of employed women increases by around

1% with a one-unit increase in occupational prestige at either age 7 or 13/14. Model 7, which analyzes the impact of maternal enrollment in school, reveals that enrollment at any age does not affect child's support for women's employment.

The impact of all measures of maternal career behavior is explored in Model 8. Only occupational prestige at age 7 and 13/14 remain significant, and occupational prestige at age 7 is only marginally so. The magnitudes of these odds ratios are virtually unchanged from what they were in Model 6. These findings suggest that the influence of maternal employment status operates through occupational prestige, and that occupational prestige at age 7 functions partially through subsequent prestige.

Finally, all maternal attitudes and career behavior indicators are included in Model 9. Mother's 1987 support for mother's employment remains significant, and the magnitude of the coefficient is similar to that in Model 3. A one-unit increase in mother's 1987 support for women's employment increases the likelihood of an adolescent possessing a more favorable view towards women's employment by about 20%. Maternal support for an egalitarian division of labor is no longer significant, suggesting that its influence on child's support for maternal employment overlaps with that of maternal career behavior. Among the career behavior measures, mother's occupational prestige when her child was age 13/14 retains significance, such that the likelihood of youth being more supportive of employed women increases by about 1% with a one-unit increase in occupational prestige at 13/14. Maternal enrollment when a child is age 2 is marginally significant. Adolescents whose mothers were enrolled in school when they were 2 are approximately 50% more likely to perceive women's employment favorably, compared to those whose mothers weren't in school at that time.

When summarizing the findings for the control variables in the full model, I find that compared to boys, adolescent girls are nearly four times as likely to be more supportive of women's employment. Differences by religious affiliation also arise. Compared to children with conservative Protestant mothers, those whose mothers are Catholic or lack a religious affiliation are about 50% more likely to view women's employment more favorably.

These results suggest that both maternal attitudes and behavior help to shape adolescents' views regarding women's employment and that, at least to a degree, these two influences operate independently of one another. Also important, measures at one point in time work through those at a later point in time. This is true for mother's support for women's employment, as well as occupational prestige. In addition, the influence of maternal employment status and mother's support for an egalitarian division of labor appears to operate through occupational prestige.

*Child's support for egalitarian division of labor.* Table 6 displays pooled models evaluating the influence of maternal attitudes, employment, and enrollment on child's support for an egalitarian division of labor. Though mother's support for women's employment in both 1979 and 1987 is positively related to child's support for an egalitarian division of labor in Model 1, the magnitude of the 1987 coefficient is nearly twice as large as that for 1979. A one-unit increase in mother's 1979 support is associated with a 16% increase in the likelihood that a youth is more supportive of an egalitarian division of labor, while this likelihood increases by about 30% when the value of mother's 1987 support for women's employment rises by one unit.

Model 2 explores the impact of maternal support for an egalitarian division of labor. All three pinpoint measures are positively correlated with child's support for an egalitarian

division of labor. Similar to mother's attitudes towards women's employment, the 1987 measure is most influential. A one-unit increase in either mother's 1979 or 1982 support for an egalitarian division of labor is related to a 13% increase in the likelihood that an adolescent is more supportive of an egalitarian division of labor, while this likelihood is augmented by about 29% when mother's 1987 support increases by one unit.

In Model 3, the influence of both maternal attitudes is delineated. Only the most recent attitude measures retain significance. Also, the magnitudes of these coefficients decline, and both variables are now significant at the .05 level rather than the .001 level. This decline in significance implies that though mother's support for women's employment and for an egalitarian division of labor independently impact child's views towards the household division of labor, the influence of these maternal attitudes also overlaps to some degree, and the two attitudes work through each other at each point in time.

The influence of maternal employment status on child's support for an egalitarian division of labor is evaluated in Model 4. Youth with mothers who were employed when they were age 7 are approximately 40% more likely to be more supportive of an egalitarian division of labor, compared to those whose mothers were not employed at that time. The corresponding increase in likelihood associated with maternal employment when children are 13/14 is about 36%. Model 5, which tests the impact of maternal hours of employment, reveals that the likelihood of being more supportive of an egalitarian division of labor increases by about 1% with a one-hour rise in weekly hours of employment when a child was age 7.

The impact of mother's occupational prestige is tested in Model 6. Occupational prestige at both age 7 and 13/14 similarly influence child's support for an egalitarian division

of labor, such that a one-unit increase in prestige at either age 7 or 13/14 is related to a 1% increase in the likelihood that an adolescent perceives a more egalitarian division of labor more favorably. Maternal enrollment at any point in childhood is shown in Model 7 to be unassociated with child's support for an egalitarian division of labor.

In Model 8, all measures of maternal career behavior are included. Mother's occupational prestige at age 13/14 retains significance, and the magnitude of the coefficient is similar to what it was in Model 6. Maternal employment status and hours of employment at age 13/14 also impact child's support for an egalitarian division of labor, though the coefficients are only marginally significant. Youth whose mothers were employed when they were 13/14 are about 27% more likely to support a more egalitarian division of labor, compared to those whose mothers did not work when they were that age. A one-unit increase in mother's occupational prestige at age 13/14 is associated with about a 1% decrease in the likelihood that a youth is more supportive of an egalitarian division of labor. This negative relationship is surprising, and may arise due to collinearity between factors in the model.

Finally, Model 9 incorporates all measures of maternal attitudes and career behavior. As for child's support for women's employment, mother's 1987 support for mother's employment remains significant. The likelihood of a youth being more favorable of an egalitarian division of labor increases by about 24% with a one-unit increase in mother's 1987 support. However, maternal support for an egalitarian division of labor does not remain significant, suggesting that it works through occupational prestige. Also similar to the results for child's support for women's employment, mother's occupational prestige when her child was age 13/14 remains significant. A one-unit increase in occupational prestige at 13/14 is

associated with about a 1% increase in the likelihood that an adolescent supports a more egalitarian division of household labor.

A few of the control variables are shown to be related to adolescents' views regarding the household division of labor in the full model. As for child's support for women's employment, daughters are more likely to hold an egalitarian outlook than are sons. The magnitude of the odds ratio is somewhat smaller for child's support for an egalitarian division of labor, such that girls are about three times as likely as boys to endorse greater egalitarianism. Adolescents whose mothers are Catholic or express no religious affiliation are more likely to disagree with a breadwinner/housewife division of labor, compared to those with conservative Protestant mothers. This result for Catholicism is marginally significant, and the odds ratio smaller than for those lacking an affiliation.

In the full model, the pseudo $R^2$ values for both child's support for women's employment and for an egalitarian division of labor are around 0.07. Though this value appears low, it is typical when predicting attitudes (eg., Cunningham 2001; Fan and Marini 2000; Moen et al. 1997). Though only mother's support for women's employment and occupational prestige remain significant in the full model for both dependent variables, it is unlikely that other factors fail to achieve significance simply because they are unimportant for children's work-family gender attitudes. Rather, it is likely due to substantial correlation among the independent variables. In particular, earlier measures, including both maternal attitudes and career behavior, work through later measures. Further, other maternal factors operate through mother's support for women's employment and occupational prestige. However, despite their overlap in influence, maternal attitudes and behavior independently impact youth's work-family ideology.

*Sex-separate Analyses*

*Child's support for women's employment.* A chow test indicates that sex-separate models for the full model regressing child's support for women's employment on maternal attitudes and career behavior are not appropriate. However, the first three models can be modeled in such a way.[8] Thus, only the impact of maternal attitudes on child's support for women's employment differs for daughters and sons; the relationship between maternal career behavior and children's attitudes regarding working women operates similarly across gender.

Table 7 contains the sex-separate Model 3. Here, the positive influence of mother's 1987 support for women's employment unearthed in the pooled model holds only for daughters. The positive coefficients for mother's 1982 and 1987 support for an egalitarian division of labor also are significant only for girls. In the sex-separate model these become weakly significant, likely due to the reduction in sample size that occurs when analyzing only girls. The positive influence of mother's 1979 support for women's employment for boys remains, though it becomes marginally significant in Model 3. Together, these findings suggest that daughters' views regarding women's employment are shaped more strongly by maternal attitudes than are sons'.

*Child's support for egalitarian division of labor.* The full model for child's support for an egalitarian division of labor is revealed to differ for girls and boys. However, the chow test statistic is weakly significant. These sex-separate models are presented in Table 8. Here, the positive influence of mother's 1987 support for women's employment found in the

[8]To save on space, I only present and discuss Model 3.

pooled model remains only for daughters. In the sex-separate model, this coefficient is weakly significant, likely because of the smaller sample size.

When reviewing career behavior in the sex-separate models, I find that the positive influence of occupational prestige at age 13/14 holds only for boys. In addition, there are other career behavior findings in the sex-separate models that are obscured in the pooled model. Maternal enrollment in school when a child is age 7 positively impacts boys' attitudes towards an egalitarian division of labor, such that boys whose mothers were in school when they were 7 are three times as likely as those whose mothers were not enrolled at that time to favor a more egalitarian division of labor. Girls whose mothers were enrolled in school when they were 13/14 are about twice as likely to be more supportive of an egalitarian division of labor, compared to those whose mothers were not enrolled when they were that age. Weakly significant coefficients for maternal employment status also arise. Once more, the crucial age for sons is 7 and 13/14 for daughters. Compared to boys whose mothers were not employed when they were 7 years old, those whose mothers were working at that time are about 47% more likely to perceive an egalitarian division of labor more positively. Girls whose mothers were employed when the girls were 13/14 are nearly 42% more likely to be more supportive of an egalitarian division of labor, compared to those whose mothers were not working when they were that age.

Hence, maternal attitudes once more are shown to influence daughters more than sons. In contrast, the positive relationship between maternal career behavior and child's support for an egalitarian division of labor is revealed to be stronger for boys. Sons' views are shaped more by maternal behavior occurring when they are early school age, while daughters' attitudes respond more to behavior during early adolescence.

*Race-separate Analyses*

*Child's support for women's employment.* A chow test reveals that the full model for child's support for women's employment varies across racial/ethnic groups. However, the chow test statistic is marginally significant. Table 9 contains the race-separate full models. The race-separate models reveal that the positive coefficient for mother's 1987 support for women's employment uncovered in the pooled model is only significant for Whites. A relationship between child's support for women's employment and mother's 1979 support for women's employment appears in the race-separate models. For Hispanic youth, a one-unit increase in mother's 1979 support is associated with about a 43% rise in the likelihood of viewing working women more favorably. Thus, Hispanic youth's views regarding women's employment are influences by early maternal attitudes, while views of White adolescents are shaped by later attitudes.

Inspecting career behavior in the race-separate models reveals that the positive coefficient for occupational prestige at age 13/14 holds only for Hispanic children. Also important, other career behavior findings appear that are not present in the pooled model. For Whites, hours of employment at age 7 exerts a weakly significant impact, such that the likelihood that a child is more supportive of women's employment increases by 1% with a one-hour increase in employment intensity. Hours of employment at age 2 demonstrates an influence of a similar magnitude for African American youth. However, maternal employment status at age 13/14 negatively impacts Black children's attitudes, such that Black youth whose mothers worked when they were 13/14 are 39% less likely to perceive women's employment more positively, compared to Black youth whose mothers did not

work at that time. Hours of employment at age 7 also demonstrates a negative influence for African American children. For this group, a one-hour increase in maternal employment intensity when a child is age 7 is related to a 1% decrease in the likelihood that an adolescent is more supportive of women's employment.

Maternal employment status divergently impacts Hispanic children's views towards women's employment, depending upon the point in childhood considered. Maternal employment when a child is age 7 negatively impacts Hispanic children's attitudes towards working women, such that those whose mothers working when they were 7 are about 40% as likely as those whose mothers did not work at that time to view women's employment more favorably. The weakly significant coefficient for maternal employment at age 13/14, however, is positive for this group. Compared to Hispanic youth whose mothers were not employed when they were 13/14, those whose mothers were working at that time are approximately 78% more likely to view women's employment more favorably. Finally, maternal enrollment at age 13/14 demonstrates a weakly significant positive relationship with the attitudes of Hispanic children, such that those whose mothers were enrolled in school when the children were 13/14 are three times as likely to be more supportive of women's employment, compared to those whose mothers were not enrolled at that time.

*Child's support for egalitarian division of labor.* A chow test reveals that it is not appropriate to use race-separate models for the full model regressing child's support for an egalitarian division of labor on maternal attitudes and career behavior. Models 3 and 8 differ across racial groups, but the chow test statistics for these models are weakly significant. These models are displayed in Table 10.

When inspecting Model 3 by race, I find that the positive coefficients of mother's 1987 support for women's employment and for an egalitarian division of labor unearthed in the pooled model hold only for White adolescents. The impact of mother's 1987 support for an egalitarian division of labor becomes weakly significant in the race-separate model, likely resulting from the reduction in sample size that occurs when analyzing only White youth. Also, an additional marginally significant finding that is not present in the pooled model surfaces. For White adolescents, a one-unit rise in mother's 1979 support for women's employment is associated with a 25% increase in the likelihood of viewing an egalitarian division of labor more favorably.

In Model 8, one sees that the influences of maternal employment and hours of employment when a child is 13/14 discovered in the pooled model hold only for Hispanic adolescents. Whereas both coefficients were only marginally significant in the pooled model, they are significant at the .05 level in the model for Hispanics. Also important, the positive relationship between maternal occupational prestige at age 13/14 and child's views regarding the household division of labor found in the pooled model remains for White and Hispanic, but not for Black, youth. For Hispanics, this coefficient is weakly significant, and larger in magnitude than for White children. Though none of the findings from the pooled model hold for African Americans, the race-separate Model 8 reveals that maternal career behavior influences this group in other ways. Black children react negatively to maternal employment when they were age 2, such that those whose mothers were employed at that time are about 63% less likely to be more supportive of an egalitarian division of labor, compared to those whose mothers did not work. However, hours of employment at age 2 positively influences African American adolescents' views on the household division of labor; for this group, a

one-hour increase in the number of hours a mother worked when her child was age 2 is associated with a 2% increase in the likelihood that the child views an egalitarian division of labor more favorably.

To summarize, important racial/ethnic differences in the influence of maternal attitudes and behavior on adolescent's support for an egalitarian division of labor arise. Maternal attitudes shape White, but not Hispanic or African American, adolescents' support. Mother's career behavior in the child's early adolescence is a noteworthy factor for White and Hispanic youth, whereas African American children's views regarding the household division of labor are related to career behavior during toddlerhood.

# CHAPTER 7

# DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Work-family gender ideology encompasses attitudes about women and men's appropriate roles and behavior at home and in the workplace. Study of adolescents' work-family gender attitudes is important, as it sheds light on emerging ideology, as well as a hint towards future familial and employment arrangements. This research advances our knowledge of gender ideology mechanisms by determining whether and how maternal factors—both attitudinal and behavioral—influence work-family gender ideology in adolescence. In addition, this study identifies ways in which these maternal influences operate differently across gender and racial/ethnic groups, and evaluates whether maternal factors during early or later childhood exert a greater impact.

Descriptive findings indicate that both mothers and adolescents are more supportive of women's employment than of an egalitarian division of labor. Among adolescents, this holds true for all subgroups—girls, boys, Whites, African Americans, and Hispanics. This discrepancy in level of support may help explain why it is that while women have increased their involvement in paid labor in recent years, they still bear the bulk of the responsibility for childcare and housework (Bianchi et al. 2000; Hook 2006; Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson 2004). Both men and women are apt to endorse women's involvement in the workplace, yet cling somewhat to the breadwinner/homemaker ideal (Haynes 2000). Women and men enact their support of women's employment by forming dual-income households, but at the same

time partially maintain the breadwinner/homemaker model by assigning a majority of the care of home and children to women. Furthermore, this behavior may result partially from men's lower egalitarianism, compared to women, concerning both women's employment and the household division of labor. Women enact their more egalitarian views by engaging in employment, whereas men's greater adherence to the breadwinner/housewife model may make them less willing to increase their share of childcare and housework.

Regression findings suggest that both maternal attitudes and career behavior shape the work-family ideology of adolescents. In general, the findings are consistent with theory implying a causal connection. When evaluating the hypotheses, I find support for Hypothesis 1. Adolescents whose mothers are more supportive of women's employment hold a more favorable view towards both women's employment and an egalitarian division of labor. The relationship between mother's support for an egalitarian division of labor and offspring's attitudes, however, is less robust. Though mother's support for an egalitarian division of labor is initially found to positively influence both outcomes, this result does not remain significant in the full model.

Support for the second hypothesis is also partial. Occupational prestige is the only career behavior that demonstrates a positive significant influence in the full models for both child's support for women's employment and for an egalitarian division of labor. Maternal employment status and hours of employment are positively related to child's support for an egalitarian division of labor, but not in the full model. Finally, maternal enrollment in school is found to be unassociated with adolescents' attitudes in the pooled models.

That occupational prestige is the only maternal career behavior that consistently shapes adolescents' work-family gender ideology suggests that the kind of work that a

mother does influences her children more than the fact that she is employed. This likely results because women working in more prestigious positions more often possess a career outlook and strong worker identity. Thus, to encourage egalitarian work-family gender ideology in adolescents, it does not appear to be sufficient to set an example of women working. Instead, it seems that sending a message that work can be a central part of women's identity is more likely to engender egalitarianism. Maternal employment more greatly impacts children's gender ideology when mothers think of themselves as coproviders, rather than secondary providers (Helms-Erikson et al. 2000).

Alternatively, occupational prestige may stand out as an influence on youth work-family ideology not because it is the only maternal employment characteristic of importance, but because other employment characteristics work through prestige. Indeed, modeling suggests that this may be the case for employment status and, in regards to child's support for an egalitarian division of labor, work intensity. Theoretical explanations for how the influence of other maternal employment factors might operate through prestige should be developed.

Results suggest that attitudes and behavior operate independently as well as through one another. In many cases, attitudes or career behavior at multiple points in time independently impact children's gender attitudes, at least in the more parsimonious models. However, as the models become more complicated, the later, most proximate, measures stand out as the most important. This does not necessarily indicate that the earlier measures are unimportant for children's work-family gender attitudes. It is more likely that only the later factors remain significant in the more saturated models due to substantial correlation among

the independent variables, and because earlier measures work through the more proximate measures.

The sex-separate regression models provide a test of the third and fourth hypotheses. Considerable verification for Hypothesis 3 is provided. The attitudinal model for child's support for women's employment differ for daughters and sons, such that both maternal attitudes tend to exert a greater influence on girls views towards working women (an exception is 1979 support for women's employment). Furthermore, in the sex-separate full model for child's support for an egalitarian division of labor, mother's support for women's employment demonstrates a positive impact on daughters', but not sons', level of support.

Thus, sons' attitudes reflect those of their mothers to a lesser degree than do daughters'. An important implication of this finding is that the gender gap in work-family ideology, in which females are more egalitarian than males, will likely continue in future generations. Indeed, Brewster and Padavic (2000) determined that the sex difference in work-family attitudes is larger for younger cohorts. Mothers, who tend to possess attitudes that are egalitarian on average, transfer these beliefs more successfully to daughters than to sons, helping to maintain divergent ideology in males and females.

Though mothers' gender attitudes do influence the work-family ideology of their daughters more than those of their sons, it should be noted that the relationship between mothers' and sons' ideology is positive rather than negative. This implies that Chodorow's (1989) theory on the differentiation of feminine and masculine personalities is somewhat overstated. Boys do not appear to distance themselves from their mothers and from femininity to the degree that Chodorow suggests. In particular, it seems that sons do not define masculinity in negative terms, as that which is not feminine.

The evidence for Hypothesis 4 is less convincing. Indeed, the influence of career behavior on child's support for women's employment is similar across gender. Though daughters' and sons' views of the household division of labor are divergently influenced by maternal employment status, occupational prestige, and enrollment in school, this differential impact does not take the shape expected. Occupational prestige shapes only boys' support for an egalitarian division of labor; this finding is in contrast to Hypothesis 4, which predicted that maternal employment would more strongly influence daughters. The findings for employment status and enrollment reveal that maternal career behavior is important for boys and girls at different stages of childhood. Adolescent sons' views toward the gendered division of labor are impacted by their mothers' behavior during their early time in school, while girls' attitudes are influenced by maternal behavior during early adolescence. Furthermore, when comparing these findings for females and males at the different time periods, both mother's employment status and enrollment in school exert a larger positive impact on sons' support for an egalitarian division of labor.

Thus, overall, maternal career behavior encourages egalitarian work-family gender attitudes in sons more than in daughters. Consequently, unlike maternal attitudes, mothers' work behavior may potentially narrow the gap that is present between males' and females' ideology. Further research is needed to determine why boys respond more to their mothers' behavior, whereas girls react more to maternal attitudes.

The finding that boys react to mothers' modeled behaviors more than do girls is at odds with Chodorow's theory concerning the development of gender identity. However, that maternal behavior earlier in childhood impacts sons, whereas daughters respond to their mothers' later employment behavior, is consistent with this developmental perspective. Girls,

because they remain close to their mothers, are influenced by their mothers' actions during early adolescence. Boys, in contrast, seemingly have begun to distance themselves from their mothers at that point in their lives, so that maternal behavior from an earlier time is important.

The fifth and sixth hypotheses are tested through the race-separate regression models. Hypothesis 5 receives considerable support, as the relationship between mother's and child's support for women's employment varies across racial/ethnic groups. Hispanic adolescents' attitudes are positively impacted by early maternal attitudes, while White youth's views are shaped by later maternal attitudes. However, contradictory to the fifth hypothesis, mother's support for an egalitarian division of labor demonstrates the same relationship—that is, no relationship—with White, African American, and Hispanic youths' views regarding women's employment. When reviewing child's support for an egalitarian division of labor, both maternal attitudes behave accordantly with Hypothesis 5. Maternal support for women's employment and for an egalitarian division of labor shapes only White children's views.

Some evidence in support of Hypothesis 6 is found when considering child's support for women's employment. Maternal employment status at age 7 negatively impacts Hispanic adolescents' views towards working women, and the same behavior at age 13/14 is negatively associated with Black youth's attitudes; maternal employment does not relate to this attitude for Whites. In addition, while hours of employment at age 7 encourages egalitarianism among White youth, it discourages it among Black adolescents. However, there is also evidence that helps to disavow this hypothesis. While maternal employment at age 13/14 does not influence White youth's attitudes about female employment, it influences Hispanic youth to perceive it more positively. Compared to having no relationship with

Whites' perceptions, mother's hours of employment at age 2 positively impacts African American children's views. Finally, occupational prestige and enrollment in school are positively associated with Hispanic, but not White, children's attitudes toward women's employment.

Some support for Hypothesis 6 is found when reviewing child's support for an egalitarian division of labor. In model 8, having an employed mother at age 2 decreases egalitarianism among Black youth, compared to having no impact on Whites. Likewise, hours of employment at age 13/14 negatively influences Hispanics', but not Whites', attitudes. Other findings fail to support the hypothesis. All other career behaviors in the race-separate models for child's support for an egalitarian division of labor more positively impact Hispanics and/or Blacks, compared to Whites.

The race-separate models further reveal that the point of childhood in which maternal career behavior is most influential varies somewhat by race/ethnicity. When looking at the relationship between maternal career behavior and child's support for an egalitarian division of labor, factors during early adolescence are important for Hispanic and White youth. However, for African American children, maternal employment characteristics when they were toddlers are crucial.

This work provides a more detailed understanding of the intergenerational transmission of work-family gender ideology, and how the process varies by gender and race/ethnicity. In addition, it provides another critical look at the relationship between attitudes and behavior. Even after controlling for a number of factors and including measures of predictors taken from different points in time, maternal ideology and career behavior exert important influences on adolescents' work-family gender ideology. Ideology is pertinent for

daughters, while mother's work history is important for sons. Both maternal attitudes and behavior differentially impact African Americans, Hispanics, and Whites. As information on the work-family ideology of more Children of the NLSY79 becomes available, I will again test these findings to determine whether they hold for a larger, more representative sample. Analysis of the role of fathers in the intergenerational transfer of gender ideology constitutes another important task for future work.

This glimpse of adolescents' work-family gender ideology may help us anticipate the ways in which today's youth will engage in and shape familial and employment roles. While these adolescents are generally supportive of women's labor force participation, as a group they maintain some support for the breadwinner/housewife household division of labor. Consequently, it is likely that the pattern wherein women perform more housework and childcare than their male partners will persist as this generation comes of age and forms families. Though maternal gender ideology and career behavior are positively related to adolescents' work-family attitudes, it is unclear whether this intergenerational transfer may result simply in the perpetuation of the current distribution of ideology or in a trend towards greater egalitarianism. Maternal employment, particularly in more prestigious vocations, may lead to a narrowing of the gender gap in work-family attitudes.

**Table 1: Comparison across Samples of Age at Birth and Education, Weighted**

| Variable | NLSY Subsample (Mothers with Teen Children) | | NLSY Full Sample | | Census (Women Age 25+ in 2002) | | National Center for Health Statistics (All-Parity Births in 2002) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Mean* | *S.D.* | *Mean* | *S.D.* | *Mean* | *S.D.* | *Mean* | *S.D.* |
| Age of mother at birth | 21.297 | 3.585 | 26.702 | 9.249 | ----- | ----- | 27.4 | ----- |
| Education | | | | | | | | |
| Less than high school | 0.143 | 0.502 | 0.092 | 0.517 | 0.156 | 0.363 | ----- | ----- |
| High school | 0.506 | 0.731 | 0.418 | 0.949 | 0.331 | 0.471 | ----- | ----- |
| Some college | 0.253 | 0.643 | 0.249 | 0.830 | 0.262 | 0.440 | ----- | ----- |
| BA or more | 0.098 | 0.459 | 0.241 | 0.877 | 0.251 | 0.434 | ----- | ----- |
| **N** | 2,224 | | 11,428 | | 95,146 | | ----- | |

**Table 3: Weighted Means and Standard Deviations of Independent and Control Variables**

| Variable | Mean | S.D. |
|---|---|---|
| **Mother's Gender Attitudes** | | |
| 1979 support for women's employment (Scale 1-4) | 3.078 | 1.225 |
| 1982 support for women's employment (Scale 1-4) | 3.142 | 1.194 |
| 1987 support for women's employment (Scale 1-4) | 3.285 | 1.155 |
| 1979 support for egalitarian division of labor (Scale 1-4) | 2.638 | 1.210 |
| 1982 support for egalitarian division of labor (Scale 1-4) | 2.705 | 1.108 |
| 1987 support for egalitarian division of labor (Scale 1-4) | 2.818 | 1.170 |
| **Maternal Employment/Enrollment** | | |
| Employed, child age 2 (*Not employed*) | 0.459 | 0.619 |
| Employed, child age 7 (*Not employed*) | 0.592 | 0.624 |
| Employed, child age 13-14 (*Not employed*) | 0.699 | 0.576 |
| Hours of employment, child age 2 (Scale 0-80) | 21.586 | 23.143 |
| Hours of employment, child age 7 (Scale 0-80) | 26.432 | 24.442 |
| Hours of employment, child age 13-14 (Scale 0-80) | 30.588 | 23.168 |
| Occupational prestige, child age 2 (Scale 1-100) | 25.616 | 32.209 |
| Occupational prestige, child age 7 (Scale 1-100) | 32.593 | 34.904 |
| Occupational prestige, child age 13-14 (Scale 1-100) | 36.606 | 36.125 |
| Mother enrolled in school, child age 2 (*Not Enrolled*) | 0.053 | 0.255 |
| Mother enrolled in school, child age 7 (*Not Enrolled*) | 0.056 | 0.296 |
| Mother enrolled in school, child age 13-14 (*Not Enrolled*) | 0.063 | 0.292 |
| **Controls** | | |
| Female (*Male*) | 0.485 | 0.552 |
| Race/Ethnicity (*Non-Hispanic White*) | 0.612 | 0.655 |
| Non-Hispanic Black | 0.277 | 0.572 |
| Hispanic | 0.111 | 0.341 |
| Maternal education, child age 2 (Scale 0-20) | 11.771 | 2.606 |
| Household structure, child age 2 (*Two-parent married*) | 0.634 | 0.619 |
| Two-parent cohabiting | 0.053 | 0.279 |
| Single-mother | 0.292 | 0.547 |
| Other | 0.021 | 0.158 |
| Maternal religious affiliation, 1979 (*Conservative Protestant*) | 0.215 | 0.626 |
| No affiliation | 0.094 | 0.425 |
| Mainline Protestant | 0.133 | 0.548 |
| Black Protestant | 0.185 | 0.473 |
| Other Protestant | 0.067 | 0.390 |
| Catholic | 0.275 | 0.652 |
| Other religion | 0.027 | 0.249 |
| **N** | 2,224 | |

*Note:* Italics are used to indicate reference group.

**Table 4: Weighted Means and Standard Deviations of Dependent Variables**

| | Full Sample | | Girls | | Boys | | Sig. | Black (B) | | Hispanic (H) | | White (W) | | B/H Sig. Diff. | B/W Sig. Diff. | H/W Sig. Diff. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Dependent Variable** | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | **Diff.** | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | | | |
| Support for Women's Employment *(Scale 1-4)* | 3.264 | 0.876 | 3.484 | 0.802 | 3.058 | 0.853 | *** | 3.252 | 0.833 | 3.231 | 0.815 | 3.276 | 0.786 | | | |
| Support for Egalitarian Division of Labor *(Scale 1-4)* | 2.944 | 0.907 | 3.141 | 0.881 | 2.758 | 0.850 | *** | 2.891 | 0.869 | 2.876 | 0.877 | 2.980 | 0.809 | | * | * |
| **N** | 2,224 | | 1,106 | | 1,118 | | | 866 | | 492 | | 866 | | | | |

*** p ≤ .001, ** p ≤ .01, * p ≤ .05

*Note:* For each dependent variable, 1 = strongly agree (traditional response), 4 = strongly disagree (egalitarian response).

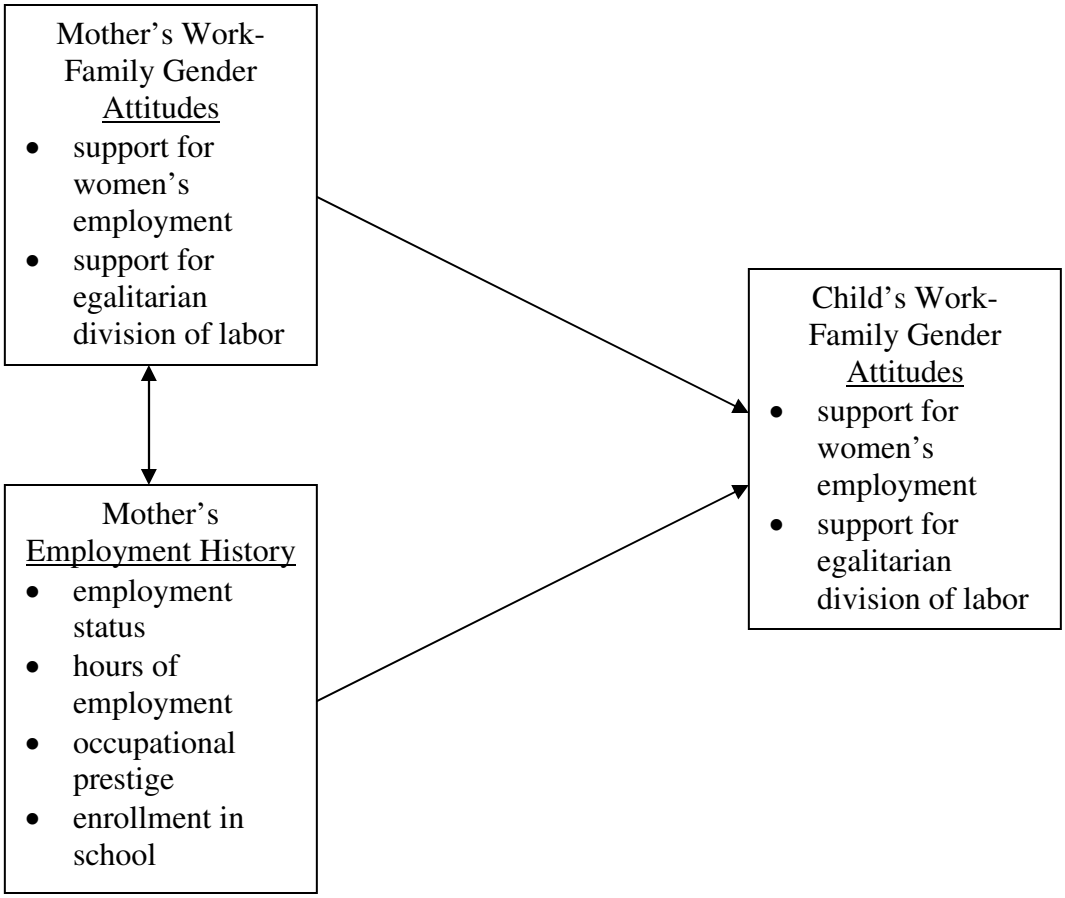


Figure 1: Conceptual Model

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